

THE SPANISH SPEAKING IN BOSTON:

FINDINGS OF THE 1970 U.S. CENSUS

Ву

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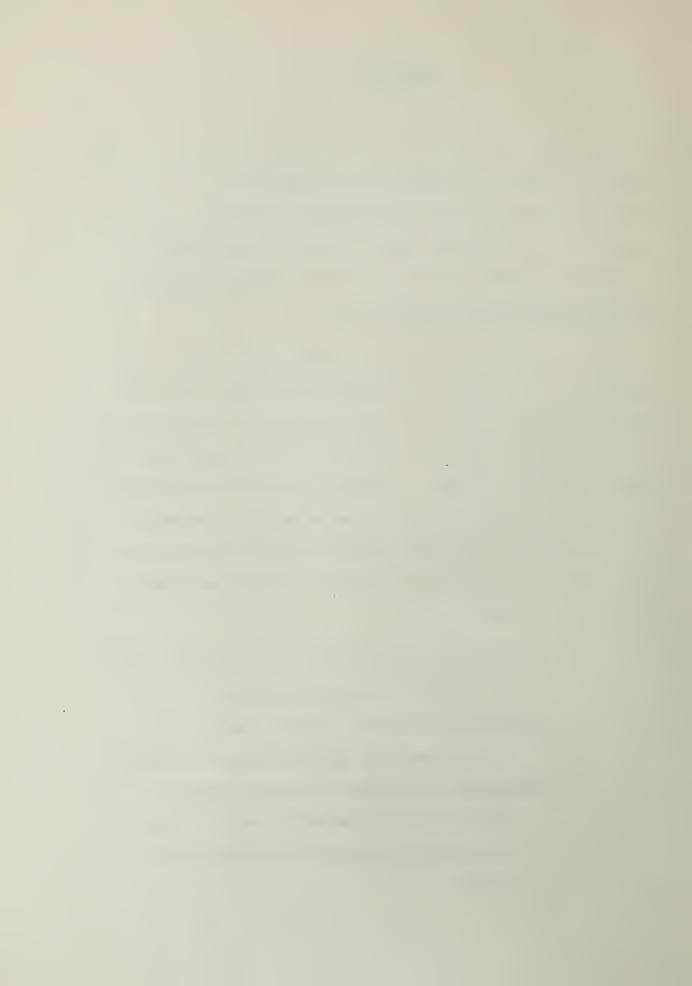


INTRODUCTION

This report presents 1970 U. S. Census data on the Spanish speaking population of Boston and compares the characteristics of the Spanish speaking in the City to those of the population at large, as also determined by the 1970 Census. Data in the report were extracted from the Bureau of the Census publication entitled, <u>General Social and Economic Characteristics</u>: Massachusetts.

All tabulations in this report are 100% counts; that is, they represent the total number of individuals having various characteristics. These tabulations are, however, statistical projections from a 15% sample of the population, to which a detailed questionnaire was mailed as part of the Census. One item to be indicated on this questionnaire was the "mother tongue" of each member of the household. From the responses to this item, the Census Bureau classified households, families, and individuals as "Spanish language" according to the following criteria:

- Households were classified as Spanish language if the mother tongue of the <u>head</u> was Spanish;
- Families were classified as Spanish language if the mother tongue of the head or his wife was Spanish;
- 3. <u>Individuals</u> were classified as Spanish language if their <u>own</u> mother tongue was Spanish or if they were <u>members of a family</u> classified as Spanish language.



The report which follows is organized in five major sections: Age, Sex, and Household Composition; Employment; Income; Education; Housing and Residence. Each section includes tables of data on the particular topic and an analysis of this data. The body of the report is followed by an appendix in which the Census findings on the Spanish speaking are compared with those of an independent survey of the Spanish speaking in Boston, conducted by Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD) in 1970.



AGE, SEX AND HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

According to the 1970 Census, there are 17,984 Spanish speaking Individuals living in Boston. Of these individuals, 8,898 (or 49.5%) are male and 9,086 (or 50.5%) are female.

The population is a relatively young one, with median age being 21.3 years, while the median age for all residents of Boston is 28.1 years. 38.0% of the population (6,829 individuals) is less than fifteen years old, while an additional 38.4% (6,919 individuals) is between fifteen and thirty-four years old. Only 23.7% of the Spanish speaking are over thirty-four years of age.

TABLE 1: AGE OF INDIVIDUALS BY SEX

		 MaJ	l es	T _e	emales	Total Bo	oth Sexes
A _E	ge	Number	<u>%</u>	Number	<u>%</u>	Number	<u>%</u>
Less th	12. 5 5-9 10-14 15-19 20-24 25-29 30-34 35-39 40-44 45-49 50-54 55-59 60-64 65+	1,370 1,173 1,039 858 908 911 628 585 425 248 220 178 59	15.4 13.2 11.7 9.6 10.2 10.2 7.0 6.6 4.8 2.8 2.5 2.0 0.7 3.3	1,361 1,030 856 758 1,165 877 814 436 468 376 242 216 125 362	15.0 11.3 9.4 8.3 12.8 9.7 9.0 4.8 5.2 4.1 2.7 2.4 1.4	2,731 2,203 1,895 1,616 2,073 1,788 1,442 1,021 893 624 462 394 184 658	15.2 12.2 10.6 9.0 11.5 9.9 8.0 5.7 5.0 3.5 2.6 2.2 1.0 3.7
Total:	All Ages	8,898	100.0	9,086	100.1	17,984	100.1



Almost all (97.7%) of the Spanish speaking residents of Boston are members of households. Only 2.3% of the population (as compared to 6.2% of the City's overall population) lives in group quarters, such as dormitories, rooming houses, institutions, and military barracks.

TABLE 2: POPULATION BY TYPE OF RESIDENCE

Type of Residence	Number of Individuals	% Of All Individuals
Household Group Quarters	17,564 420	97•7 2•3
Total	17,984	100.0



A relatively large share of Spanish speaking households in Boston (55.6% as compared to 46.9% of all households in the City) are headed by a male who lives with his wife. Correspondingly, households headed by a woman with no husband present are less common among the Spanish speaking, accounting for 29.4% of all cases, than they are among the general population, where their share is 35.8%. Households headed by a male with no wife present are equally distributed among the Spanish speaking population (16.9% of households) and the general population (17.2% of households).

TABLE 3: TYPE OF HOUSEHOLDS

Type of Household .	Number Of Households	%
Male head, wife present Female head Male head, no wife present	2,668 1,408 720	55.6 29.4 15.0
Total	4,796	99.9



Most Spanish speaking households consist of family groupings and very few members of households (3.4% as compared to 4.2% in the general population) are unrelated to the household head. Of those individuals living in Spanish speaking households, 27.3% are heads (either male or female) of the households, 15.2% are wives of male heads, and 54.1% are other relatives of the head, including his or her children. Due to the more common occurrence of families with children in the Spanish speaking population than in the overall population (where many households consist, for example, of single elderly persons) Spanish speaking households on the average are larger, with a mean size of 3.7 persons, than households in the population at large, where their mean size is 2.9 persons.

TABLE 4: RELATIONSHIPS AMONG HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS

Status of Member	Number	%
Head Wife of Head Other relative of head Not related to head	4,796 2,668 9,501 599	27.3 15.2 54.1 3.4
Total	17,564	99.8



EMPLOYMENT

According to the Census, somewhat over half of the adult Spanish speaking population, as of the adult population at large, is in the civilian labor force. Of Spanish speaking persons aged 16 and over, 57.1% (as compared to 58.3% in the total population) are either employed or actively seeking employment. Among the Spanish speaking, as among others in the City, labor force participation is considerably higher for males than for females. Among males 16 years and over, 72.6% of those who are Spanish speaking (as compared to 72.0% of all males in this age group) are in the labor force. Among females, the rate of labor force participation is 42.8% for the Spanish speaking, compared to 47.8% for the general population.

TABLE 5: CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE STATUS OF INDIVIDUALS AGED 16 YEARS OR OLDER, BY SEX

Labor Force Status	Number Of Males	%	Number Of Females	%	Number Of Either Sex	%%
In civilian Labor Force	3,754	72.6	2,451	42.8	6,205	57.1
Not in civilian Labor Force	1,415	27.4	3,276	57.2	4,664	42.9
Total	5,169	100.0	5,727	100.0	10,869	100.0

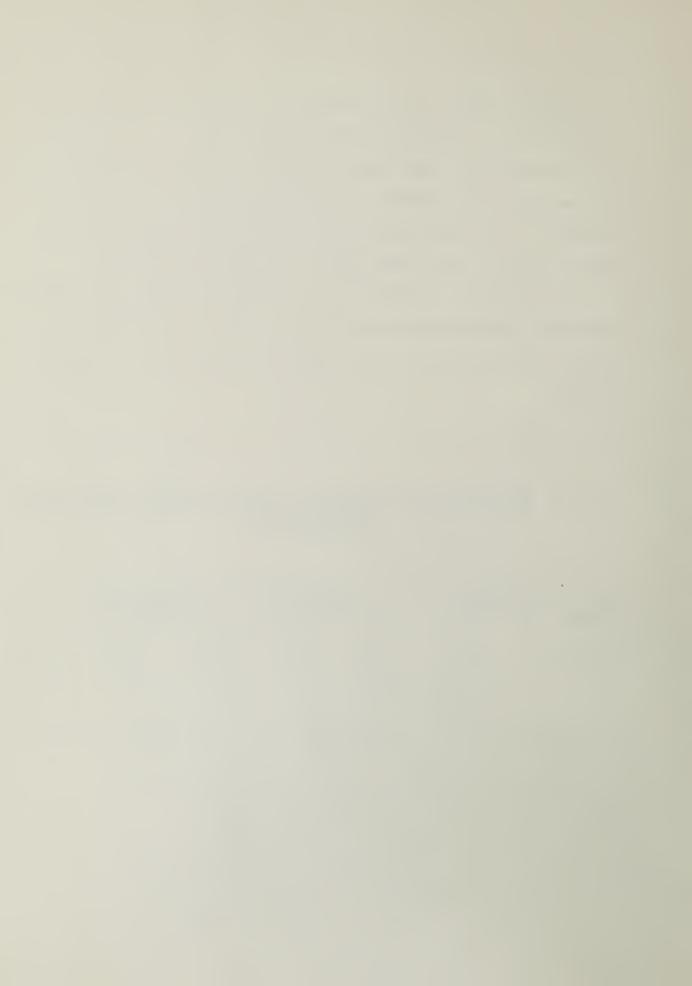


While the share of Spanish speaking who are in the labor force is approximately the same as the share of all persons in the City who are in the labor force, a much greater proportion of the Spanish speaking who are interested in employment are without jobs than of the overall population. The unemployment rate in 1970 for Spanish speaking in Boston, at 8.9%, was double that of the entire population, at 4.3%.

As in the general population, in the Spanish speaking population unemployment is somewhat less severe for women than for men. 8.8% of Spanish speaking women, and 9.4% of Spanish speaking men, were unemployed in 1970.

TABLE 6: UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG MEMBERS OF CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE AGED 16 YEARS OR OLDER, BY SEX

Labor Force Status	Number of Males	%	Number of Females	%	Number of Either Sex	%
Employed Unemployed	3,403 351	90.6 9.4	2,2 4 7 204	91.7 8.3	5,650 555	91.1
Total	3,754	100.0	2,451	100.0	6,205	100.0



The kinds of jobs performed by about three-fifths (59.8%) of Spanish speaking who are employed are blue-collar in nature, and of these most are in semi-skilled or unskilled categories. Semi-skilled and unskilled blue-collar jobs, primarily machine operation and service work, account for about half (49.9%) of all employment of the Spanish speaking. In contrast, of all employed persons living in Boston, 40.4% are found in blue-collar jobs, with 31.1% in the semi-skilled and unskilled categories.

Within the white-collar grouping of occupations, Spanish speaking persons are found to be approximately equally distributed between professional, technical and managerial jobs on the one hand (which account for 17.9% of all positions held by the employed portion of the population) and clerical jobs on the other (which account for 19.5% of the positions). Somewhat greater shares of the general population are found in both of these categories, with 21.0% employed in the first and 24.9% in the second.



TABLE 7: OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED INDIVIDUALS, 16 YEARS OR OLDER

		····
Occupation	Number Of Individuals	% Of Individuals
Occupation	Individuals	Individuals
White Collar: Professional & Managerial	(2,265)	(40.0)
Professional, Technical & Kindred	812	14.3
Managers & Administrators	205	3.6
Other White Collar:	3 200	20 5
Clerical & Kindred Sales	1,103 145	19.5 2.6
Blue Collar:	(3,380)	(59.8)
Skilled Craftsmen & Foremen	558	9.9
Semi-Skilled		
Operatives	1,458	25.8
Service Workers	1,042	18.4
Private Household Workers	51	0.9
Unskilled Laborers, Except Farm	0.53	
haborers, Except farm	271	4.8
Agricultural:	(9)	(0.2)
Farmers & Farm Managers	-	(0.2)
Farm Laborers & Foremen	9	0.2
Total	۲ (۲۵	
	5 , 650	100.0



According to the Census, manufacturing and services are the two sectors of the Boston economy which employ the greatest numbers of Spanish speaking residents. 38.0% of Spanish speaking persons who work (as compared to 33.6% of the overall work force) hold jobs in service industries, with approximately one-third of these being in hospitals. Manufacturing enterprises are the second most common source of employment for the Spanish speaking, employing 25.1% of the work force (in contrast to 17.5% of the overall employed population). Compared to the general population, Spanish speaking workers are particularly underrepresented in the growing government sector of the economy, which employs 1.8% of their numbers and 7.3% of the overall Boston work force.

TABLE 8: INDUSTRY OF EMPLOYED INDIVIDUALS, 16 YEARS OR OLDER

Industry	Number Of Individuals	% Of Individuals
Agriculture Construction Manufacturing Transportation, Communications & Utilities Finance, Insurance, & Real Estate Wholesale Trade Retail Trade Services Private Households Government	9 135 1,434 258 637 177 727 2,142 28 103	0.2 2.4 25.4 4.6 11.3 3.1 12.9 38.0 0.5 1.8
Total	5,650	100.2



INCOME

According to the Census, the economic status of the typical Spanish speaking family in Boston is dramatically below that of the average family in the population at large in the City. While the average Boston family had an income of \$10,272 in 1969, the average Spanish speaking family had an income of \$7,092, or approximately \$3,000 less. In that year, the income of about half (51.5%) of the Spanish speaking families in the City was less than \$6,000, while only 27.9% of all families in the City were in this bracket. Conversely, fewer than one out of four (22.9%) of Spanish speaking families in the City had incomes of \$10,000 or more, compared to 45.2% of families in the population at large.

TABLE 9: FAMILY INCOME

Income	Number Of Families	% Of Families
Less than \$ 3,000 \$ 3,000 - 5,999 6,000 - 9,999 10,000 - 14,999 15,000 or more	849 1,158 995 561 333	21.8 29.7 25.5 14.4 8.5
Total	3,896	99.9



Wages and salaries are the most common source of income for Spanish speaking families as for all families in the City. However, the share of Spanish speaking families which obtain financial support from employment (75.9%) is smaller than the share of all families in the City (86.1%) which support themselves in this manner, and the average amount of income gained by Spanish speaking families who have wage earners (\$7,968) is considerably less than the average amount obtained by all families with wage earners (\$9,812). Public assistance (welfare) is, conversely, a more common source of income for Spanish speaking families than for all families in the City. According to the Census, 30.8% of Spanish speaking families in Boston, compared to 13.8% of all families, received some income from public assistance in 1969. The average amount of income received by Spanish speaking families on welfare from this source was \$2,241.

TABLE 10: SOURCES OF INCOME OF FAMILIES

Source	Number of Families	% Of Families	Mean Family Income From Source
Wages or Salaries	2,950	75.7	\$ 7,968
Self-employment	114	2.9	3,484
Social Security	389	10.0	1,156
Public Assistance	1,201	30.8	2,241
Other Sources	347	8.9	1,563



Taking into account both income and family size, the Census characterizes a large proportion of Spanish speaking families as "poor." Based on a scale which classifies as poor any family of four persons which receives less than \$3,750 in income as poor and allows for approximately \$550 more dollars in income for each additional family member, the Census found 30.7% of Spanish speaking families (as compared to 15.6% of families in the population at large) to be poor. The mean income of these poor Spanish speaking families is \$2,221, while their average size is 4.6 persons. About three-fifths of the families (59.5%) receive public assistance, while two-fifths (40.5%) do not.

According to the Census, poverty is also relatively widespread among Spanish speaking individuals who are not living in families with relatives. Of the 1,616 unrelated Spanish speaking individuals in Boston, 33.9% are poor (as compared to 16.2% of all unrelated individuals in the City). The mean income of poor Spanish speaking individuals is \$706, or only 36.8% of the poverty criterion (\$1,919 for a single person).



EDUCATION

According to the Census, a relatively large proportion of Spanish speaking children in the age categories where school attendance is required are not enrolled in school. Of Spanish speaking children aged 7 to 13 years, the Census reports 6.6% are not enrolled and of those 14 and 15 years old, 9.5% are not enrolled. (In the general population, the comparable figures are 2.1% and 2.8%.) Enrollment of the Spanish speaking in school drops off dramatically as children reach the ages of 16 and 17, at which point they would normally be completing high school although their attendance is no longer legally required. 33.5% of the Spanish speaking in this age group are not in school, compared to 11.5% of all children in the City in this age group.

TABLE 11: CHILDREN IN SCHOOL AND OUT OF SCHOOL, BY AGE

		Children In School		Children Out of School	
AGE	Number	_%	Number	%	
3 - 4	143	14.3	856	85.7	
5 - 6	620	66.3	315	33.7	
7 -13	2,611	93.5	181	6.5	
14 -15	541	91.0	53	9.0	
16 -17	378	65.7	197	34.3	
18 -19	331	45.2	401	54.8	
20 -21	163	20.0	653	80.0	
22 -24	230	19.3	963	80.7	



At all levels of school, from nursery school through high school, many more Spanish speaking children attend public schools than attend private schools. (The category "private schools" includes parochial schools.) 86.9% of all Spanish speaking children in nursery consultable. 90.3% in grades kindergarten through 12, and 87.1% in high school attend public schools. In the population at large, substantially greater shares of children at each of the grade levels attend private schools.

TABLE 12: CHILDREN ATTENDING PUBLIC AND NONPUBLIC SCHOOLS BY LEVEL OF SCHOOL

	TYPE OF SCHOOL					
	Pul	olic	0t	her	All	Types
LEVEL OF SCHOOL	Number	%	Number	<u>%</u>	Number	- 91
Nursery School	86	86.9	13	13.1	99	100.0
Grades Kindergarten Through 12: Kindergarten Grades 1-8 High School	(4,079) 398 2,971 710	(90.3) 98.8 90.1 87.1	(436) 5 326 105	(9.7) 1.2 9.9 12.9	(4,515) L03 3,297 815	(100.0) 100.0 100.0 100.0
College	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	723	1-1.0



Also on the subject of education, the Census found that the adult Spanish population in Boston has had, in a large share of all cases, relatively little formal schooling. Among Spanish speaking persons 25 years and older, close to half (43.9%) have completed no school beyond the eighth grade, while the comparable proportion among all segments of Boston's population is 29.3%.

The Census indicates, at the same time, that the Spanish speaking are not underrepresented in terms of the share of their numbers who have completed college (10.9% as compared to 10.3% in the overall population). Relatively few of their numbers who are not college graduates, however, have gone as far as the high school level in education, 36.3% as compared to 54.7% in the population at large.

TABLE 13: YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY INDIVIDUALS AGED 25 OR OLDER, BY SEX OF INDIVIDUAL

YearsCompleted	Male Number	es	Female Number	es	Tota Both S Number	
None 1 to 4 5 to 7 8 9 to 11 12 13 to 15 16+	157 355 625 301 565 649 377 521	4.4 10.0 17.6 8.5 15.9 18.3 10.6 14.7	241 370 880 343 613 882 295 292	6.2 9.4 22.5 8.8 15.7 22.5 7.5	398 725 1,505 644 1,178 1,531 672 813	5.4 9.7 20.2 8.6 15.8 20.5 9.0
Total	3,550	100.0	3,916	100.1	7,466	100.1



HOUSING AND RESIDENCE

According to the Census, almost every Spanish speaking household in Boston rents the dwelling unit that it occupies. Only 3.0% of Spanish speaking households in the City are home owners, as compared to 27.2% of households in the population at large.

TABLE 14: TYPE OF TENURE IN HOUSING

Type of Tenure	Number Of Households	%
Owner occupied Rented	4,330 134	97.0 3.0
Total	4,464	100.0



Finally, the Census data confirm the fact that most Spanish speaking persons living in Boston have recently moved to the City. Approximately half (48.2%) of the City's Spanish speaking population who were at least five years old in 1970 moved to Suffolk County in the five years prior to that date. Of those who moved to the area in the period from 1965 to 1970, only one out of four previously resided in another part of the Continental United States, while three out of four came from another country or Puerto Rico.

TABLE 15: RESIDENCE IN 1965 FOR INDIVIDUALS FIVE YEARS AND OLDER

Place of Residence	Number Of Individuals Residing	% Of Individuals Residing
Suffolk County	6,964	45.7
U.S. Outside Suffolk County: Northeast Other U.S.	(1,966) 1,418 548	(12.9) 9.3 3.6
Abroad N.A.	5,377 946	35•3 6•2
Total	15,253	100.1



APPENDIX

COMPARISON OF CENSUS AND ABCD SURVEY ON THE SPANISH SPEAKING

In the summer of 1970, ABCD, in conjunction with the Institute of Human Sciences of Boston College, conducted an extensive survey of Boston's Spanish speaking community. Topics such as migration, employment, education, housing, health, standard of living, social interaction, beliefs and attitudes were investigated in considerable detail. Each interview was conducted in person, in the respondents' home, by a native Spanish speaking interviewer. In all, interviews were obtained from 535 households, these households containing a total of 2,249 members. Many of the principal results of the survey, as well as a detailed discussion of the survey procedures, are contained in the ABCD publication, Boston's Spanish Speaking Community: Findings of a Field Survey.

Both the ABCD survey and that conducted by the Census Bureau give a variety of useful information on Boston's Spanish speaking population. On some items investigated by both the Census Bureau and ABCD, however, the findings of the two surveys differ. While both surveys show that the Spanish speaking are a relatively young population, that there are high percentages of households receiving public assistance, and that many of the employed Spanish speaking have blue-collar jobs, the two studies differ greatly in the proportions of families and individuals to which they attribute these characteristics.



Appendix

Differences between the findings of the ABCD survey and the Census cannot be explained on the basis of differences in sample size, as the two surveys appear to have covered approximately the same number of individuals. If it is assumed that exactly 15% of the Spanish speaking residents of Boston were included in the Census Bureau's 15% sample, the Census sample consisted of 2,698 individuals, as compared with 2,249 for the ABCD sample. Procedures in conducting the two surveys did, however, differ considerably and it is in the differences in procedures that an explanation for differences in results may be sought.



PROCEDURAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO SURVEYS:

The major procedural differences between the Census and the ABCD study concern the methods by which the samples were drawn and the ways in which responses were obtained from individual households.

The Census Bureau's 15% sample of the Spanish speaking in Boston was obtained as part of a general 15% sampling of the City's entire population which was used to gain a range of detailed information on the overall population including but not limited to the Spanish speaking. While it is unlikely that precisely 15% of Spanish speaking households in Boston responded to the Census survey, the initial drawing of the Census sample seems to have been a relatively straightforward, random process in which Spanish speaking were identified as they appeared in the population at large.

With much smaller financial resources and being concerned with collecting data only on the Spanish speaking, not on all segments of the population, ABCD in its survey chose not to use such a simple random selection process from the population at large but rather to use as a starting point for its sampling existing information on where the Spanish speaking lived.

ABCD used as its major source of unitial information on the location of the Spanish speaking in Boston a map which had been prepared by the Mayor's Office of Human Services and which showed blocks of the City on which there were Spanish speaking residents. Making use of



this map, the ABCD researchers categorized every Census Tract in the City, according to predetermined criteria, as either containing or not containing a significant concentration of Spanish speaking residents. Each tract containing a significant concentration was divided into city blocks having a significant concentration, blocks adjacent to these, and all remaining blocks. Most of the effort of locating Spanish speaking residents was then channeled into blocks of the first type. A random sample of blocks in this category was screened, on foot, to locate the Spanish speaking residents. A smaller sample of blocks of the third type, were similarly screened. The third type of block included, of course, are blocks in those tracts not having a significant concentration of Spanish speaking residents.

Once the screening process had shown the approximate probability of finding a Spanish speaking resident on each type of block, and, therefore, provided an estimate of the total number of Spanish speaking households living in all blocks of each type, the samples from the second two types of blocks were augmented by an appropriate number of

^{*}Independent test screenings of additional blocks of each type showed the probability estimates to be extremely reliable.



random selections of addresses from a composite list of Spanish speaking residents of Boston. This use of a list was more economical than intensive screening of blocks on which the probability of finding Spanish speaking residents was very low. The sample of Spanish speaking to be interviewed was the set of all Spanish speaking located by the screening process. The ABCD sampling method then was effectively random and unless there existed large concentrations of Spanish speaking in areas where all sources showed none to exist, it was also highly reliable.

The fact that the ABCD researchers had to locate specific respondents in order to interview them may have led to the ABCD survey being of a subpopulation of relatively stable, relatively large households, whereas Census questionnaires presumably reached Spanish speaking people living in all types of situations. The instructions to the ABCD screeners, whose task was to locate the residences of Spanish speaking persons as a basis for the drawing of the sample of those to be interviewed, was to ask residents of given blocks whether they knew of any Spanish speaking households living in the block. There is no guarantee that this question, over the many times it was asked, did not lead to the location of a slightly excessive number of family units, especially those with large numbers of young children, as opposed to, for example, less visibly resident single person households and small groups of single males. Certainly this procedure excluded the residents of group quarters such as large rooming houses. The Census survey

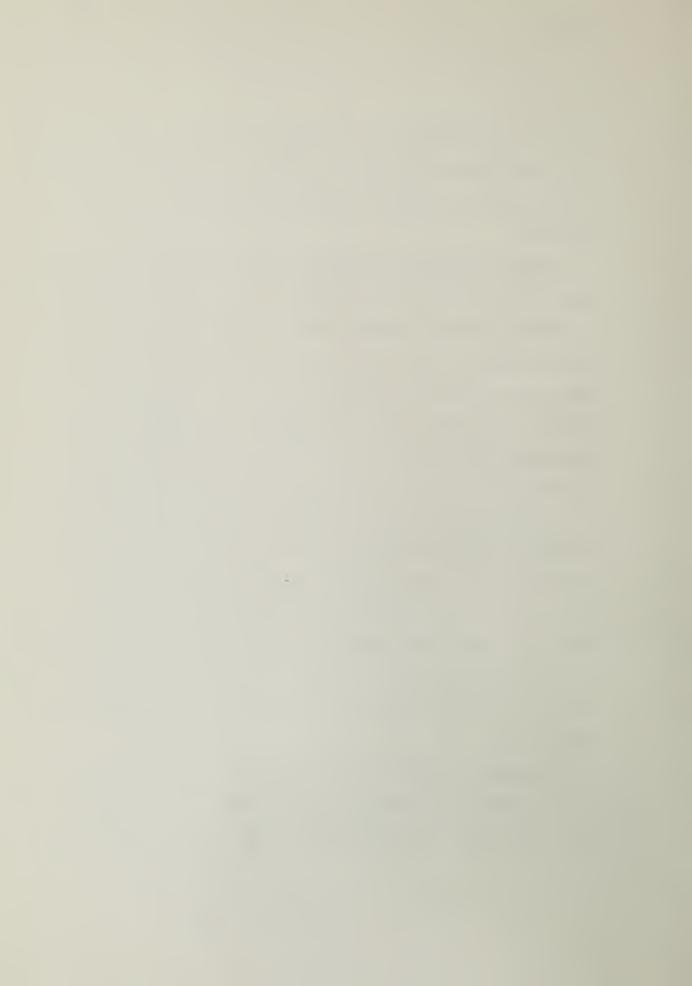


thus was less susceptible to the problem posed by some types of people being more visible than others, and also does not restrict the sample to households or to people's interpretation of what constitutes a household.

Although the Census, then, probably selected a more representative sample of the overall Spanish speaking population of Boston on which to attempt to obtain information than did ABCD, the method by which the Census Bureau administered its questionnaire may have biased to some degree not present in the ABCD survey the results actually obtained. Differences in the methods used in administering the two surveys probably had an impact both upon the kinds of people who responded to each and upon the replies given by those who did respond.

The Census questionnaire was administered by a branch of the U. S. Government for the most part by mail, in writing, in English. It may be assumed that, in this situation, responses were more likely to be obtained from persons whith a certain level of education and the ability to communicate in English than from others. In-person followup on individuals who were in the sample and failed to return the questionnaire may or may not have been sufficient to overcome this initial cause of bias.

Presumably, the kinds of skills that enable a person to fill out a questionnaire as required by the Census Bureau would also make that person more able to find employment. By the same token, a household



whose members have such skills would be less likely than others to be receiving welfare payments. Those households with structures that technically rule out receipt of welfare payments would be relatively unlikely to report that fact to the Government; and, therefore, relatively likely to give distorted reports of household structure. Parents with school age children not attending school might decline similarly to report such nonattendance.

The ABCD survey, in contrast to the Census, was conducted entirely in person, by interviewers who spoke Spanish fluently and who made every effort to establish a rapport with the respondents. This technique made possible the gathering of data from respondents who would be relatively unlikely to respond accurately to the Census questionnaire if, in fact, they responded at all.



COMPARISON OF THE RESULTS OF THE TWO SURVEYS:

Ethnic Background

Ethnic background of the individuals surveyed differs greatly between the two surveys. The Census Bureau reports that 40.8% of the Spanish speaking individuals about whom it obtained information were of Puerto Rican birth or parentage. The ABCD survey found, in comparison, that 72.6% of Boston's Spanish speaking were of Puerto Rican birth or parentage. Education data, which will soon be ready for publication from the ABCD survey, shows that Puerto Ricans in Boston tend to have significantly bess formal education than do members of other Spanish speaking groups, and are less likely to be literate in English. Not only this difference in ethnic background, but also many other differences between the results of the two surveys, may be due to differences in education and literacy between the samples obtained by the two surveys.



Age and Sex

Each study shows the Spanish speaking population to consist of 49.5% males and 50.5% females. The age distributions, however, differ between the two surveys. The Census sample seems to contain a higher proportion of older individuals than does the ABCD sample. The mean age of individuals from Census data is 23.4 years, while that of individuals sampled by ABCD is 21.2 years. Detailed comparison shows that 38.0% of the Census sample are less than 15 years of age, much less than the ABCD survey result of 45.9%; and that there are two age ranges where a higher proportion of individuals are concentrated in the Census data, as compared with the ABCD data. 29.4% of the Census age distribution, and only 24.2% of the ABCD age distribution, lie in the 20 to 34 age range. For the 65 years and older age range, the Census percentage is 3.7%, as compared to 2.0% for the ABCD survey. In the age range 35 to 64 years, there is relatively little difference between the two distributions.

These results may in part be explained by the fact that the ABCD screening procedure, as described above, would tend to locate most readily families with large numbers of children and to have more difficulty locating single young adults and older persons living alone. It may thus be possible that the Census age distribution is the more accurate. It should be noted, however, that poor families, which often contain relatively large numbers of children, would (because low income tends to be associated with fewer years of education) be less



likely than more affluent families, which tend to be of somewhat smaller size, to respond to the Census questionnaire. To some degree, then children would tend to be underrepresented in the Census results.

Household Structure

The Census survey and the ABCD survey also differ in their findings on household structure. The Census found a lower proportion of husband-wife households, and a much higher proportion of maleheaded households in which no wife was present. The Census found 55.6% of households to have husband-wife headship, and 15.0% to have male-only headship, while the results of the ABCD survey are 65.0% husband-wife headship and 7.7% male-only headship. This difference in results may be due to the difference in the way in which respondents were contacted in the two surveys. Families, headed by a man and wife, or by a woman, would tend to be more obviously residents of a particular block than would be single men, living singly, or in a small group. The ABCD survey, in using the sample selection technique it did, may have underrepresented the single male population.



Education

Comparison of data on education shows, first, that the ABCD survey indicates that a much higher percentage of children of school age are not enrolled in school than does the Census. The difference is greatest in that age range in which children are legally required to be enrolled. In the age range 7 to 13, the Census survey shows 93.5% of children enrolled, while the ABCD survey shows 78.8%. In the 14 to 15 age range, the Census shows 91.0% enrolled, and the ABCD study 52.4%. The 16- to 17-year range, a range for which enrollment is not required, shows a smaller difference, 65.7% enrolled according to the Census and 52.4% according to ABCD. These differences are of the sort anticipated due both to the probable relative lack of concern with formal education on the part of those individuals contacted by ABCD, as compared with those contacted by the Census Bureau, and to the probable reluctance of parents to report in writing to the Government that their children were not in school.

The uniformly lower enrollment rates shown by the ABCD survey may be due in part to procedures designed specifically by the ABCD researchers to obtain accurate data on this topic. At the beginning of each ABCD interview, the respondent was asked to list his children, and their ages, and their grade. Much later on in the interview, the respondent was asked to list the names and ages of children of his that he had sent to the Boston schools during the preceding school



year (the interviews were conducted in the summer, after the end of the 1969-1970 school year). This second listing was preceded by questions concerning the adequacy or inadequacy of the Boston schools, and the respondents having been given the opportunity to give a frank appraisal of the school system, may have become convinced that the interviewer was not, after all, an agent of the school department and so may have been more inclined to list only those children that had actually been enrolled. As a final check, the ABCD results count as enrolled only those children listed as enrolled in school by the respondent who also appear as the respondent's children in the list of household members. (In computing total number of children, the divisor in the computation of enrollment percentages, only children of the respondent were counted. Of all respondents of the ABCD survey, all but 2.2% were either heads of household or wives of male heads of household.)

In amount of formal education attained by adults, there is a clear difference between those individuals surveyed by ABCD and those surveyed by the Census Bureau. The ABCD study shows that 61.6% of all respondents had 8 years or less of formal education, while the Census reports that 43.9% of all adults had not received schooling beyond this level. The figures for those having completed exactly 12 years of formal education are 10.2% for the ABCD study, and 20.5% for the Census. The ABCD data include individuals less that 25 years of age,



but the years of schooling compared here are usually completed by the 20th year. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the individuals surveyed by the Census Bureau tended to have completed more formal schooling than did those surveyed by ABCD.

Employment

Concerning participation in the labor force and rate of unemployment, the two surveys produced rather similar results. The Census reported that 42.8% of individuals aged 16 to 64 were not in the labor force, as compared with 44.6% for the ABCD survey. The unemployment rates, 8.9% for the Census and 6.3% for the ABCD survey, are in reasonable agreement. In all, the Census shows 51.7% of the adult population as not working, for whatever reason, and the ABCD survey shows 50.9% in this position.

The occupations reported by employed individuals, however, differ greatly between the two surveys, with the Census, in general, showing a more highly skilled work force. The Census reports that 40.1% of jobs held by the Spanish speaking were of the white-collar variety, while the ABCD survey puts the figure at 32.1%. In addition, there are large differences in the specific types of jobs held within this category. 14.4% of those surveyed by the Census had professional or technical



positions, as compared with 9.4% of those surveyed by ABCD. Almost one employed person in five reported by the Census (19.5%) had a clerical position, while not one such job was reported by the respondents to the ABCD survey. On the other hand, only 3.6% were reported by the Census to be managers or proprietors, while 17.3% are so reported in the ABCD survey. (This category includes managers of small shops.)

Within the blue-collar category, the Census reports more relatively skilled jobs and fewer relatively unskilled jobs. 9.9% of the employed reported by the Census were craftsmen or foremen, while only 1.1% of those reported by ABCD had such positions.

Among positions generally requiring less skill, 0.9% reported by the Census, as compared to 4.1% reported by ABCD, were private household workers; and 4.8% reported by the Census, as compared with 11.1% reported by ABCD, were unskilled laborers. These differences, like many of those previously discussed, may be due to the Census containing an overrepresentation of more highly educated individuals.



Sources of Income

Families receiving public assistance were reported by the Census to comprise 30.8% of all Spanish speaking families. The ABCD survey shows a larger percentage, 42.2%, receiving public assistance. This difference may also be due to bias inherent in the Census survey due to its being conducted in English, in writing, by mail.

Housing

The only item on housing that is available for comparison is type of tenancy of households. Both surveys show only a small percentage of Spanish speaking households owning their own dwelling, the figure being 3.0% for the Census and 5.1% for the ABCD survey.

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